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PAGE 01 PRETOR 06682 01 OF 02 101703Z
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	HA-09	H-01
	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01
	PMB-00	/037W					

-----454B00 101938Z /38

R 101703Z MAY 94
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4125
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PRETORIA 006682

INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW, OAU, US
SUBJECT: VICE PRESIDENT MEETING WITH UN SECGEN, OAU SECGEN AND
TANZANIAN PRESIDENT ON RWANDA

1. SUMMARY: IN HIS MEETING WITH UN SECGEN BOUTROS GHALI, OAU SECGEN
SALIM SALIM AND TANZANIAN
PRESIDENT MWINYI, VICE PRESIDENT GORE SAID THE U.S.
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PAGE 02 PRETOR 06682 01 OF 02 101703Z
WANTED TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY ARRANGING AN
INTERNATIONAL FORCE TO PROTECT RWANDAN REFUGEES ON
THE BORDERS OF TANZANIA AND BURUNDI. HE SAID THAT
ALTHOUGH WE ARE NOT RULING OUT ANY OPTION, THIS
APPROACH WAS PREFERABLE IN OUR VIEW TO A KIGALI-
BASED EFFORT THAT WOULD INVOLVE CONFRONTING AN ON-
GOING CIVIL WAR. ALL THREE INTERLOCUTORS AGREED
THAT THIS PROPOSAL REPRESENTED A POSSIBLE IMPORTANT
EMERGENCY MEASURE AND SHOULD BE DISCUSSED FURTHER.
THEY ALL SOUGHT TO CLARIFY THE MANDATE AND COMMAND

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER
DATE/CASE ID: 04 NOV 2011 201005065

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STRUCTURES OF SUCH AN OPERATION. THAT SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF TROOPS WOULD BE AVAILABLE FROM AFRICAN COUNTRIES IF THIS WERE A "NORMAL" UN MISSION. THE PARTIES AGREED TO MORE INTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS IN NEW YORK. END SUMMARY

2. VICE PRESIDENT GORE MET WITH UN SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS GHALI, OAU SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM SALIM AND TANZANIAN PRESIDENT MWINYI TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE ACTIONS WITH REGARD TO RWANDA. THE VICE PRESIDENT WAS ACCOMPANIED FOR THE 30-MINUTE MEETING BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE, AMBASSADOR LYMAN, VP CHIEF OF STAFF QUINN, VP NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER FUERTH AND NSC AFRICA SENIOR DIRECTOR STEINBERG. THE VICE PRESIDENT PRAISED THE EFFORTS OF PRESIDENT MWINYI AND THE OTHERS IN THEIR EFFORTS TO GET THE ARUSHA ACCORDS BACK ON TRACK AND ADDRESS THE HUMANITARIAN DISASTER. HE SAID THERE WERE A NUMBER OF PROPOSALS BEING CONSIDERED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO RESPOND. ONE PROPOSAL THAT THE U.S. THOUGHT HAD A POSSIBILITY OF EASING THE CRISIS WAS

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PAGE 03 PRETOR 06682 01 OF 02 101703Z
TO CREATE AN AREA OF SAFETY FOR REFUGEES ON THE BORDERS WITH TANZANIA AND BURUNDI. HE SAID THE U.S. WAS PREPARED TO PROVIDE SOME SUPPORT FOR SUCH AN EFFORT TO ENSURE A PERIMETER OF SAFETY AND TO SUPPLY HUMANITARIAN RELIEF. AT THE SAME TIME, HE NOTED, WE HAVE TO BE RESPECTFUL OF THE DELICATE BALANCE THAT NOW EXISTS IN BURUNDI.

3. HE SAID THAT THIS APPROACH DID NOT ADDRESS REFUGEES ON THE UGANDA BORDER, BUT SAID THAT THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO US INDICATES THAT THE RISKS BEHIND THE RPF LINES ARE MUCH LESS. HE ADDED THAT WE RECOGNIZE THAT THERE ARE ENCLAVES ELSEWHERE IN THE COUNTRY WHERE INDIVIDUALS ARE AT RISK, BUT ENTRY THERE IS DIFFICULT AS LONG AS THE CIVIL WAR CONTINUES TO RAGE.

4. THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID THIS WAS NOT AN EXCLUSIVE ALTERNATIVE AND WE HAD NOT RULED OUT ANY OPTION. HOWEVER, THIS APPROACH SEEMED TO HAVE ADVANTAGES OVER PROPOSALS THAT FOCUS ON KIGALI, INsofar AS KIGALI IS NOW AT THE EPICENTER OF THE CIVIL WAR AND ENTRY INTO THE KIGALI AIRPORT HAD BEEN

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MADE DIFFICULT BY FACTIONS THAT DO NOT WANT
RELIEF ENTER. HE ADDED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY MAY BE RELUCTANT TO ENTER INTO A COMBAT
SITUATION. WHILE DISCUSSIONS OF OTHER ALTERNATIVES
GO ON, WE CAN MOVE EXPEDITIOUSLY TO SAFEGUARD LIVES.

5. PRESIDENT MWINYI RESPONDED FIRST. HE SAID THAT
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PAGE 04 PRETOR 06682 01 OF 02 101703Z
TANZANIA WAS WILLING TO CONSIDER OUR APPROACH AS A
TEMPORARY EMERGENCY MEASURE. HE SAID THAT THE KEY
CHALLENGE FACING TANZANIA WAS COPING WITH THE 400-
500,000 REFUGEES WHO HAVE FLOODED INTO TANZANIA.
THE ONLY LONG-TERM SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS WAS TO RE-
ESTABLISH STABILITY AND GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES IN
RWANDA IN ORDER TO FACILITATE THE FLOW OF
HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.

6. BOUTROS GHALI DID NOT SPECIFICALLY ADDRESS THE
VICE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL. HE NOTED THAT HE HAD
RECEIVED A REPORT YESTERDAY FROM NEW YORK SAYING
THAT A U.N. PEACEKEEPING MISSION IN KIGALI WOULD
REQUIRE 5,500 TROOPS TO PROTECT THE AIRPORT, SECURE
ENCLAVES WITHIN THE CITY AND ENSURE THE SUPPLY OF
HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THIS
WOULD HAVE TO BE A CHAPTER VI OPERATION -- THUS, HE
STRESSED THE NEED FOR A CEASEFIRE PRIOR TO TROOPS
ENGAGEMENT. HE THOUGHT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY SHOULD ALREADY FOCUS ON HOW TO SECURE THE
PEACEFUL RETURN OF REFUGEES. HE SAID HE SENT
LETTERS TO THE 30 OR SO AFRICAN COUNTRIES THAT HAVE

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PARTICIPATED IN PAST PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS TO
INQUIRE ON THE AVAILABILITY OF TROOPS FOR A RWANDAN
MISSION.

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PAGE 02 PRETOR 06682 02 OF 02 101704Z

7. THE VICE PRESIDENT STRESSED THAT WE WERE NOT
NECESSARILY RULING OUT PROCEEDING WITH ACTION IN
KIGALI. HE SAID THAT IF WE COULD ACHIEVE
INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT TO PROCEED WITH THE APPROACH
TOWARD THOSE REFUGEES AT GREATEST RISK, IT COULD
BUILD MOMENTUM FOR ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS SHOULD THEY
BECOME FEASIBLE. A/S MOOSE OUTLINED OUR PERCEPTION
OF THE POPULATION AT GREATEST RISK, INCLUDING
DISPLACED PERSONS IN THE SOUTH, REFUGEES WHO HAD NOT

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BEEN PERMITTED TO ENTER TANZANIA AND BURUNDIA AND THOSE IN ENCLAVES THROUGHOUT RWANDA.

8. SALIM SALIM SAID THAT AFRICAN COUNTRIES WERE ANXIOUS TO MOVE AHEAD ON A MISSION IN RWANDA, BUT WANTED TO ENSURE THAT IT WAS A "NORMAL UN MISSION." HE SAID THAT IF THIS WERE THE CASE, THERE WOULD BE NO DIFFICULTY ASSEMBLING 5500 TROOPS; IN FACT, HE HAD TALKED THAT MORNING AT MANDELA'S INAUGURATION BREAKFAST WITH LEADERS FROM THREE AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHO CONFIRMED THEIR WILLINGNESS TO CONTRIBUTE TROOPS. (HE LATER INFORMED A/S MOOSE THAT THESE HAD BEEN FROM NIGERIA, ZIMBABWE AND GHANA, IN ADDITION TO TANZANIA) HE SAID THE PROPOSAL PUT FORTH BY THE VICE PRESIDENT HAD TO BE VIEWED AS AN INTERIM ARRANGEMENT, AND STRESSED THE NEED TO CAREFULLY STUDY THE NUMBER OF TROOPS, COMMAND STRUCTURES AND RELATIONSHIP TO THE U.N. BEFORE PROCEEDING.

9. BOUTROS GHALI WANTED TO BE CERTAIN THAT WHAT THE VICE PRESIDENT WAS DISCUSSING WAS A PEACEKEEPING MISSION, NO MERELY A HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORT.

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PAGE 03 PRETOR 06682 02 OF 02 101704Z
THE LATER HE SUGGESTED, WOULD NO PROVIDE THE NEEDED PROTECTION TO THOSE AT RISK. THE VICE PRESIDENT CONFIRMED THAT THIS WAS THE CASE.

10. THE VICE PRESIDENT ASKED WHETHER THE OTHERS HAD SUFFICIENT INTEREST IN THE U.S. PROPOSAL TO INTENSIFY DISCUSSIONS. ALL THREE INTERLOCUTORS AGREED TO FURTHER TALKS. SALIM SALIM SAID THE PROPOSAL WOULD LIKELY MET NO OBJECTION FROM THE RPF OR THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT FORCE, WHICH BOTH ACCEPTED THE INVOLVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL FORCES TO FACILITATE HUMANITARIAN RELIEF. HE STRESSED AGAIN CONCERNS OVER THE DELICACY OF THE BURUNDIAN SITUATION. A/S SUGGESTED THAT THESE DISCUSSIONS SHOULD TAKE PLACE IN NEW YORK.

11. COMMENT: BOUTROS GHALI, SALIM SALIM, AND PRESIDENT MWINYI ALL SEEMED TO SINCERELY APPRECIATE THE VICE PRESIDENT'S ENGAGEMENT IN THE QUESTION OF PROVIDING RELIEF FOR RWANDA, WHICH HAS CLEARLY VEXED ALL THREE MEN. THE VICE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL WAS RECEIVED BY HIS THREE INTERLOCUTORS WITH INTEREST, BUT EACH WANTED TO HOLD HIS REACTION UNTIL THEY

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COULD CONSIDER THE DETAILS. THEY ALL SEEMED TO VIEW
THE PROPOSAL AS AN INTERIM MEASURE THAT COULD SAVE
LIVES, BUT NOT THE SINGLE SOLUTION. BOUTROS GHALI
WANTED TO ENSURE THAT THIS PROPOSAL DID NOT PRECLUDE
A KIGALI-BASED OPTION; SALIM SALIM STRESSED THE NEED
FOR THE U.N. TO TAKE UNDER ITS CONTROL WHATEVER
MISSION WAS AGREED TO; AND MWINYI WAS CLEARLY
STRAINED BY THE FLOOD OF WHAT HE CALLED UP TO A HALF
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PAGE 04 PRETOR 06682 02 OF 02 101704Z
MILLION REFUGEES ON HIS BORDER. NONETHELESS, THIS
MEETING LAID THE GROUNDWORK FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS
IN NEW YORK.
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